

responsibilities, Captain Zeller was selected to command the Trident Refit Facility (TRF), Kings Bay, Georgia, a 2000-man Fleet Maintenance Activity. During his tour, TRF was awarded the Meritorious Unit Commendation for outstanding Trident submarine maintenance performance. Following this highly successful command tour, Captain Zeller returned to service on the Secretary of the Navy's staff as the Deputy Chief of Legislative Affairs, from May 1999 to June 2000. Captain Zeller was then selected to be the Legislative Director for the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. During this tour of duty from June 2000 until his retirement, Captain Zeller served the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs and the Congress during an especially demanding time in U.S. history that included the attacks of September 11, 2001 on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, and subsequent military operations in Afghanistan, Iraq, and elsewhere in the Global War on Terrorism. His important contributions were of great importance in keeping the Congress fully informed regarding worldwide military developments and requirements. Captain Zeller's timely, responsive support was critical to the success of global U.S. military efforts.

A successful military career is not accomplished without dedication and sacrifice. Captain Zeller is fortunate to have the devoted support of his wife, the former Deborah Lee Chairman of Dayton, OH, and their two children Alexandra (11) and Nathaniel (8). For their support, service and sacrifice, they have my profound appreciation, and that of a grateful Nation.

It is a great honor and personal privilege for me to recognize the exemplary service of CPT Randel L. Zeller and his family today. Their selfless service to country, to the Navy, to their community, and to family serve as an inspiration to those whose lives they have touched, and who now carry on the proud traditions of our Armed Forces. As the Zeller family moves into a new chapter in their lives as valued citizens of the Commonwealth of Virginia, I wish them the continued success and happiness they so richly deserve. May they always enjoy fair winds and following seas.

DELAWARE'S BILL OF RIGHTS COMES HOME

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, it is with tremendous pride that I rise today to commemorate that after 213 years, Delaware's original copy of Bill of Rights ratified in 1790, is returning home.

This is a story steeped in history, mixed with some modern-day political negotiations—worth celebrating.

While Delaware holds the distinction as the first State to ratify the Constitution, on December 7, 1787, it was the sixth State to ratify the Bill of Rights—on January 28, 1790. The two signors of this historic document were Jehu Davis and George Mitchell. And

they were quite efficient. Instead of drafting a separate letter, as most States did, to notify Congress of Delaware's ratification of the Bill of Rights, they simply penned their signatures on the Bill of Rights document and returned it whole cloth to Congress. Thus, Delaware had no copy of what Davis and Mitchell signed.

The National Archives, to its immense credit, conserved Delaware's original copy of the Bill of Rights in pristine condition for more than two centuries. However, two years ago Delaware's Public Archives, State House Majority Leader Wayne Smith, and the Delaware General Assembly asked the congressional delegation to help negotiate the return of our Bill of Rights document. We all agreed that this historic document should be displayed for all to see in Delaware, not stored in the basement of the National Archives in Washington, DC.

The National Archives is, justifiably, quite protective of its documents. Suffice to say that it took ten months of negotiations, meetings, letters and conference calls to come to terms on an agreement that returns this document to Delaware, while retaining the National Archives legal and preservation rights to it.

Starting this December 7, on my State's 216th birthday, its original Bill of Rights will be on display for all to see. It will be on view at our new, state-of-the-art Public Archives Building in Dover, DE. And that is exactly where this document belongs—on public display where school students and adults alike can appreciate its historic significance.

We should all be proud of this accomplishment because it's part of our history. The Bill of Rights is a symbol of who we are and the values we hold dear. It ties us to our past and reminds us of those principles that will guide us into the future.

CENTER FOR AMERICAN PROGRESS'S NEW AMERICAN STRATEGIES FOR SECURITY AND PEACE CONFERENCE

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, in the end of October, the Center for American Progress, in conjunction with The American Prospect magazine and The Century Foundation, held a conference on U.S. national security titled, "New American Strategies for Security and Peace." Three of my fellow senators—Senator HILLARY CLINTON, Senator JOE BIDEN, and Senator CHUCK HAGEL—and Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski made incisive remarks at this conference about the direction of our country's foreign policy and its effects on Americans at home and abroad. They also spoke about how to restore America to respected international leadership. I ask unanimous consent that the remarks of Senator CLINTON and Dr. Brzezinski be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF SENATOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

WASHINGTON, Oct. 29, 2003.—Thank you, John for that introduction. I want to compliment you for all the hard work that you have put into the creation of the Center for American Progress, an institution that I am convinced will be a tremendous force in engaging in the war of ideas so critical to our country's future. And there is no better leader for that effort than John Podesta who has the warrior spirit and strategic mind needed for such an endeavor. I also want to thank Bob Kuttner at the American Prospect and Dick Leone at the Century Foundation for their work on this conference.

Today's conference, "New American Strategies for Security and Peace" comes at a critical point in our nation's history and I commend the Center for American Progress, the American Prospect and the Century Foundation for putting together from what is, by all accounts, an outstanding program.

Today is a critical moment, not just in our history, but in the history of democracy. As we seek to build democratic institutions in Iraq, and we in this room push for us to reach out to our global partners in this endeavor, this nation must remember the tenets of the democratic process that we advocate.

The issue I'd like to address is whether we apply the fundamental principles of democracy—rule of law, transparency and accountability, informed consent—not only to what we do at home but to what we do in the world. There can be no real question that we must do so because foreign policy involves the most important decisions a democracy can make—going to war, our relations with the world, and our use of power in that world.

But the fact is that new doctrines and actions by the Bush administration undermine these core democratic principles—both at home and abroad. I believe they do so at a severe cost.

In our efforts abroad, we now go to war as a first resort against perceived threats, not as a necessary final resort. Preemption is an option every President since Washington has had and many have used. But to elevate it to the organizing principle of American strategic policy at the outset of the 21st century is to grant legitimacy to every nation to make war on their enemies before their enemies make war on them. It is a giant step backward.

In our dealings abroad, we claim to champion rule of law, yet we too often have turned our backs on international agreements. The Kyoto Treaty, which represents an attempt by the international community to meaningfully address the global problem of climate change and global warming. The biological weapons enforcement protocol. The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. This unwillingness to engage the international community on problems that will require international cooperation sends a clear signal to other nations that we believe in the rule of law—if it is our law as we interpret it. That is the antithesis of the rule of law. The administration argues that international agreements, like the Kyoto Treaty, are flawed. And the fact is they have some good arguments. When the Clinton administration signed the Kyoto Protocol it said that, working, inside the tent, it would try to make further improvements. But rather than try to make further improvements from inside the process, the Bush administration stomped out in an effort to knock over the tent. That is not the prudent exercise of power. It is the petulant exercise of ideology.

In our dealings abroad, we more often than not have promoted, not the principles of